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SUBJECT: INTSUM 301 - APRIL 22, 1977

1. LEBANON. IN SOUTHERN LEBANON, THE FIGHTING HAS NOT RESUMED, BUT THE VARIOUS PARTIES ARE MANEUVERING TO IMPROVE THEIR POSITIONS. AS SAIQA'S INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERNLEBANON GROWS, THE SYRIAN ATTITUDE BECOMES INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT. SYRIA APPARENTLY BELIEVES THAT THE CHRISTIAN FORCES IN THE SOUTH ARE NOT STRONG ENOUGH TO HAVE AN IMPACT ON THE POLITICAL BARGAINING IN THAT AREA. IT SEEMS AWARE, HOWEVER, THAT THE CHRISTIANS AND THEIR RIGHTIST LEBANESE ALLIES ARE LIKELY TO TURN INCREASINGLY TO THE ISRAELIS FOR SUPPORT IF THEIR INTERESTS ARE NOT TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN A SETTLEMENT IN SOUTHERN LEBANON.

2. THERE IS STILL THE MATTER OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THECAIRO ACCORDS.THE KEY QUESTION IS WHETHER THE SYRIANS WOULD OBEY ANY SARKIS ORDER TO FORCE THE PALESTINIANS TO ACCEPT THE ACCORDS. IF THE SYRIANS DO NOT ACT SARKIS WILL FIND
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HIMSELF IN A DIFFICULT POSITION WITH REGARD TO THE CHRISTIANS AND THEIR ALLIES WHO HAVE BEEN PROMISED THAT THE ACCORDS WILL BE IMPLEMENTED. IF THE SYRIANS DO ACT, HOWEVER, THERE WILL BE CLASHES WITH THE PALESTINIANS.

3. JORDAN. IN AN INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN LE MONDE, KING HUSSEIN MADE THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS ON CURRENT

PEACE EFFORTS:

--"TANGIBLE PROGRESS" IS NECESSARY THIS YEAR TO AVOID A MIDEAST "CATASTROPHE", BUT EXPECTATIONS SHOULD NOT BE TOO GREAT;

--ISRAEL IS "PROCRASTINATING" AND HE BELIEVES THE ISRAELIS DO NOT INTEND TO SERIOUSLY NEGOTIATE THE RETURN OF OCCUPIED AREAS;

--JORDAN IS VITAL TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND A SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM;

--THE PALESTINIANS SHOULD PARTICIPATE AT GENEVA IN A UNIFIED ARAB DELEGATION, BUT HE BELIEVES ARAFAT STILL WISHES TO ATTEND INDEPENDENTLY;

EMBASSY AMMAN COMMENTED THAT THIS INTERVIEW--A GOOD SUMMARY OF HUSSEIN'S VIEWS--LIKELY REFLECTS THE ASSESSMENT HE WILL PRESENT DURING HIS FORTHCOMING US DISCUSSIONS.

4. EAST BANK JORDANIANS, MEANWHILE, CONTINUE TO WORRY THAT THEIR INTERESTS WILL BE SACRIFIED IN A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. THEY ARE CONCERNED THAT JORDAN WILL BE THE HOMELAND. RUMORS PUBLISHED IN SEVERAL ARAB NEWSPAPERS HAVE HEIGHTENED JORDANIAN ANXIETY BY REPORTING THAT "AN ARAB AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON HAD LEARNED THAT THE PRESIDENT MEANT JORDAN."

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5. THE JORDANIANS ALSO NOTED THAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE SAID FOR YEARS THAT THERE IS ROOM FOR ONLY TWO STATES BETWEEN THE SEA AND THE DESERT--AN ISRAELI STATE AND AN ARAB STATE--AND THAT THE CAPITAL OF THE ARAB STATE IS AMMAN. THIS ISRAELI LINE IS INTERPRETED BY THE JORDANIANS AS MEANING THAT A PALESTINE STATE CAN BE ESTABLISHED ONLY AT JORDANIAN EXPENSE.

6. AS A RESULT OF THESE CONCERNS, THE JORDANIANS ARE LIKELY TO BE EVEN MORE SENSITIVE TO SIGNS THAT THEY HAVE LOST GROUND WITH THE ARAB STATES OR THE US. FURTHER, EAST BANK JORDANIAN NATIONALISTS INCREASINGLY ARE BECOMING RELUCTANT TO INVOLVE THEMSELVES ACTIVELY IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE THAT A SETTLEMENT WILL COST THEM DEARLY.

7. THE EAST BANKERS, ALTHOUGH THEY CURRENTLY DOMINATE THE JORDANIAN GOVERNMENT, ARE UNLIKELY TO BE ABLE TO KEEP JORDAN OUT OF THE PEACE PROCESS. IN THE FIRST IN-

STANCE HUSSEIN SEEMS TO BE TOO MUCH OF AN ACTIVIST TO SIT ON THE SIDELINES. MOREOVER, THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS ENVISION A CRITICAL ROLE FOR AMMAN. PERES, IN HIS BBC INTERVIEW ON APRIL 18, MENTIONED AN ISRAELI-WEST BANK-JORDANIAN FEDERATION AS A POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT SCENARIO. THE SYRIANS CONTINUE ALSO TO PRESS FOR A JORDANIAN-SYRIAN UNION. THE PALESTINIANS APPEAR TO REALIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF JORDAN AND CONTINUES TO SEARCH FOR A WAY TO IMPROVE RELATIONS. WE BELIEVE IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE JORDANIANS WILL BE ABLE TO RESIST THESE PRESSURES FOR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION AND EXPECT AMMAN TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS, IN SPITE OF EAST BANK CONCERNS. (SECRET)

8. ISRAEL. A COMMUNIST PARTY LECTURER IN LENINGRAD RECENTLY PROVIDED FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT MOSCOW IS LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR POSSIBLE RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMA-
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TIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. THE LECTURER REPORTEDLY STATED THAT THE PLO DEMAND FOR DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL DOES NOT HAVE SOVIET SUPPORT AND THAT THE USSR WILL HAVE

RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL "BEFORE LONG."

LOCAL LECTURERS IN THE USSR FREQUENTLY FLESH OUT VAGUE MEDIA TREATMENT OF SENSITIVE SUBJECTS, AND THESE REMARKS INDICATE THAT SOVIET CITIZENS AS WELL AS FOREIGNERS ARE NOW BEING READIED FOR POSSIBLE RESUMPTION OF TIES WITH TEL AVIV.
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